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262 Kerenaiit (N. *poinet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
136 Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipeomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *kuruiityet*,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiniet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus grisco-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Torset (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochærus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ilgetundo*).—Lion.
Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.
Pĕliot (N.).—Elephant.

262 Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sllouriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such
137 as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siuet* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasumat*, pl. *pasumik*; N. *masingat*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

222 To take honey, the Dorōbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorōbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriityet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

● 264 In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

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prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*litêto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-ap-tumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kipraut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemweyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraiit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkawit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirorênik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Past: →	Past: →	Ideal: (in most cases)
[462] [594]	Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest		
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Some: working for wages		
		Women:	Preparing the results of trapping		Stock
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Housework and food collecting		
[857]		Children:	Weeding		
			Herding		
			Housework		
[462]	Men Living Alone:		Trapping	Cultivation of shambas	Stock
			Making things		
			Preparing the results of trapping		
			Cooking, housework		

[556] Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

262 [778] [231] 264 Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minis said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be [789] either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

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through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lakok ap Kapkolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Makicome
They-burn the-children of Kolelac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mepele Okiek timdo ne tinye tukuk ca kiomo,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngut ne mii pasanet ap sekemik:ngut kololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sekemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sekemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sekemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sekemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

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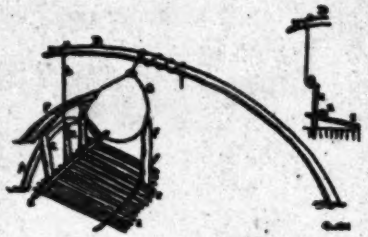

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter:	*Meat to*
1.	Wife and children.
2.	Father and mother.
3.	Wife's father.
4.	Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saiwet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Konokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

/231 cont./

621 [192] [171] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndarerañg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauergg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 412 413 177 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (lelewgg), as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereré). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat [251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[415] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining [262] [224] the en doro, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirder, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.